TOO MUCH LOVING-KINDNESS TO REPAY: FUNERAL SPEECH RITUALS OF THE WENQUAN PUMI

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ABSTRACT

Two Pumi funeral speech rituals of the Wenquan Pumi area in northwestern Yunnan Province illustrate the traditional genre of speeches through their use of metaphor and parallellism. The speeches express the central concept of giving and repaying that plays an important role in strengthening social cohesion among Pumi relatives.

KEYWORDS

China, funeral, metaphor, parallellism, Pumi, Yunnan

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INTRODUCTION[2]

This study introduces two interlinear Pumi (autonym *ʈʰɔ́ŋmə*[3] 'White People') funeral speeches from the Wenquan area[4] of Southwest China that provide readers insight into the structure of the language and the beauty of its verbal art, something that is easily lost in translation. Due to China's push for rapid modernization, many minority languages are under great pressure – some are already disappearing (Kraus 1992, Bradley 2005). A record of traditional verbal art in its original language is thus valuable for language and culture documentation.

A detailed ethnographic description of a funeral is beyond the scope of the present study, but we do provide some detail on the background of religious and ritual practices to aid the reader. We write from a lay perspective and present a 'typical' Wenquan Pumi person's general knowledge of religion and ritual practices.

The English version was expanded from the original Chinese and edited for ease of reading, and is thus not a direct translation. For the benefit of local readers, a Chinese version follows the English version.

In this initial section, we provide background on the Wenquan Pumi and their language. The second section introduces the Wenquan Pumi funeral and the place of the two funeral speeches in the overall funeral ritual. The third section presents the interlinear text of the *xʷɑ́ʑʷæ* 'dedication speech', followed by a brief commentary on the most relevant cultural background. We then present and comment on the interlinear text of the *ʈidzɔ́ŋ*

[2] The authors thank the editors for their comments.
[3] Pumi terms in general follow the guidelines of IPA transcription, except for a *ŋ* syllable-final that denotes a nasalized vowel. Tone is marked by diacritics over the vowel: an acute accent (*á*) for high tone, a circumflex (*â*) for falling tone, and a haček (*ǎ*) for rising tone. Place names are presented in Chinese Pinyin.
[4] Yongning Township, Ninglang Yi Autonomous County, Lijiang Municipality, Yunnan Province. 'Wenquan area' is used here to refer to the area occupied by four Pumi villages adjoining Wenquan Village. The area is part of the administrative Wenquan Cunweihui, which includes about thirty villages.

'appreciation speech'. The paper closes with a discussion of the speeches, highlighting the cultural theme of reciprocity featured in these funeral speeches and, more broadly, in other areas of Pumi life.

The Pumi, one of China's officially recognized fifty-five minority groups, number 42,861, according to the Sixth National Census conducted in 2010.[5] This figure excludes Pumi-speakers living in Sichuan, who are classified as Tibetans.[6] In this paper we refer to the former as 'Pumi' and the latter as 'Pumi-speaking Tibetans'. Estimates of the number of Pumi-speaking Tibetans range from 31,000 to 50,000 people (Harrell 2001, Lu 2001).

Pumi is considered a Qiangic language of the Tibeto-Burman Language Family (Sun 1983; Bradley 2002; Thurgood and LaPolla 2003). Pumi-speakers live scattered over Muli Tibetan Autonomous County, Yanyuan County, and Jiulong County in southwest Sichuan Province and in Lijiang Municipality, Lanping Bai and Pumi Autonomous County, and Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Northwest Yunnan.

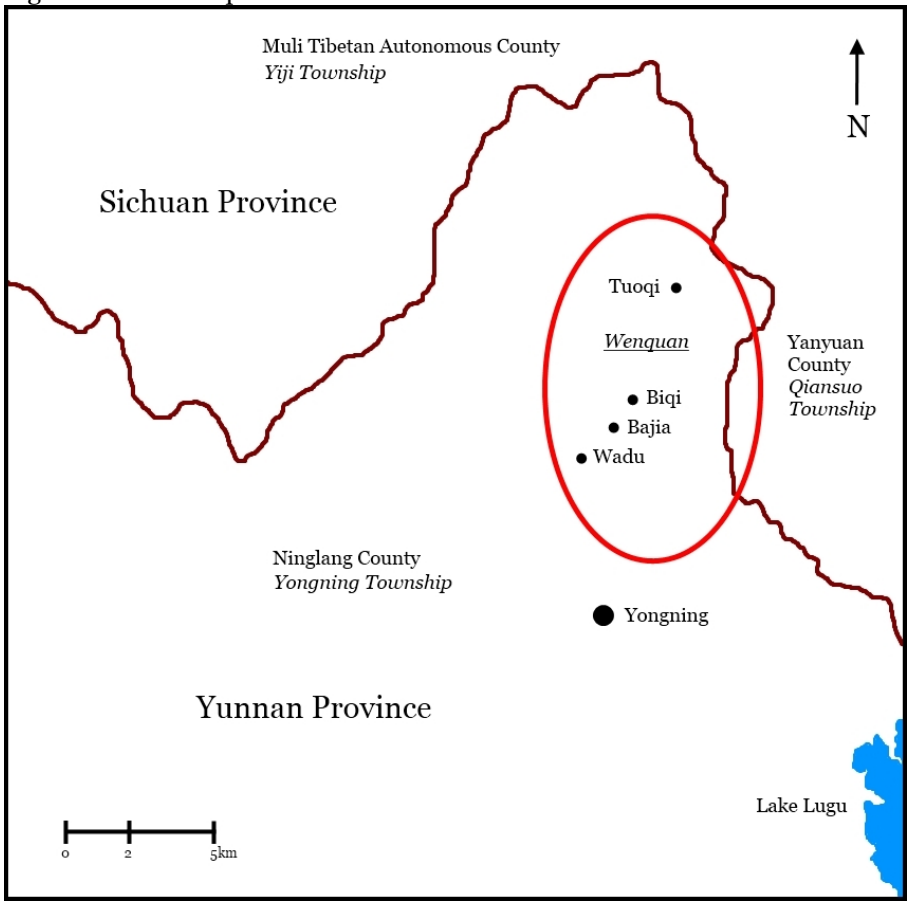
The Wenquan area on which this paper focuses borders Yiji Township (Muli Tibetan Autonomous County) in the north and Qiansuo Township (Yanyuan County) in the east (see Figure 1). There are about a hundred Pumi households with a population of approximately 800 people in the Wenquan area living in Wadu, Bajia, Biqi, and Tuoqi Villages.[7] The villages are situated in a basin at roughly 2,700 meters above sea level, with wet summers and cold dry winters.

Wenquan Pumi are mainly subsistence farmers cultivating Himalayan red rice, potatoes, maize, oats, (highland) barley, buckwheat, and wheat. Cabbage, radish, turnip, squash, beans, apples, pears, peaches, walnuts, sunflower seeds, and prickly ash (Sichuan pepper) are grown less extensively. A significant part of the annual crop is used as livestock fodder, in particular for pigs. A typical family

[5] http://zh.wikipedia.org/zh/中华人民共和国第六次全国人口普查, accessed 31 July 2013.
[6] See Harrell (2001) for the historical reasons for this situation.
[7] The four Pumi villages are administrative villages. Wadu Village is officially called Zhong Wadu Cun 'Middle Wadu Village'.

owns a plow-ox, a few mules or horses for transport, around twenty pigs, and several cows and chickens. Beginning in about the year 2000, many families have acquired a water buffalo for plowing, rather than the traditional plow-ox. Since around 2010, some families have bought tractors.

Figure 1. The Wenquan Pumi area.[8]



Houses in the Wenquan area are traditionally built from logs and consist of a main one-story building and three two-story buildings surrounding a courtyard. The two-story building on the uphill side of the courtyard has a *hiʈʂɔ́ŋ* 'shrine-room' on the second

[8] Map drawn by Henriëtte Daudey based on Google Maps.

floor; the other two-story buildings have animal pens on the first floor and bedrooms and storage space on the second floor. The main building features the *tɕɨmá* 'hearth room' where meals are prepared and eaten, guests are entertained, and most daily rituals such as offerings to the ancestors occur,[9] and an adjoining storage room. The hearth with the cooking tripod[10] is the center of social activity and also symbolizes family harmony.

Similar to Pumi-speaking Tibetans in Sichuan, the Pumi in the Wenquan area adhere to the Gelukpa 'Yellow Hat' Sect of Tibetan Buddhism, mixed with traditional animist practices.[11] Common religious activities include offering libations to the *pêpʉ* 'ancestors' and *ʑɨtsôŋ ʑɨdá* 'mountain deities' before meals;[12] inviting monks[13] to calculate auspicious days for travel (or, alternatively, *sɔ́ŋma* 'spirit mediums',[14] or elder lay fortune tellers); using a twelve-year cycle zodiac (similar to the Chinese zodiac) calendar to determine when to cultivate land; inviting monks to divine, chant Buddhist scriptures and excorcise *tsú* 'malevolent spirits' when sick; and inviting monks to perform during funerals and weddings. Moreover, if families have two or more sons, they often send one to a monastery (typically to Draemin Monastery [Zhameisi] in Yongning) to be a monk. Due to the relatively lenient enforcement of the one-child-policy in Wenquan and the presence of extended households due to the practice of 'walking marriage',[15] sending sons to become monks is common. An

[9] In the past, people also slept around the hearth.
[10] A metal tripod on which pots and kettles are heated from a fire under it.
[11] See Samuel (1995) for a discussion on how local animist practices are interwoven with Tibetan Buddhism in Tibetan areas.
[12] Libations are placed or poured on the cooking tripod. Such libations range from yak butter tea, broth and meat, to liquor, fruit, and candy, depending on what is served as a meal (the former), or what guests have brought as gifts (the latter).
[13] In Pumi no difference is made between lama and monk: both are refered to as *jɐmá*.
[14] From Tibetan *srung ma*. Pumi mediums are lay or monastic. Wadu Village has a female lay medium.
[15] '*Zouhun*' in Chinese. The neighboring Mosuo are known (Walsh 2005) for this form of marriage in which both husband and wife stay in their own respective homes, and the husband only visits his wife at certain times. Children are raised in the mother's household. Her brother plays an important role in the children's upbringing. Not all Wenquan area Pumi practice this form of marriage.

ideal household has three sons, one of whom stays at home to work the land, one leaves the village to study or find a job, and one is a monk. Families are proud to have a son who is a monk.

The Wenquan area is of special geographic significance in that it forms a link between Pumi living in Yunnan and the Pumi-speaking Tibetans in Yiji Township (Muli Tibetan Autonomous County), Sichuan.[16] Close clan and marriage relationships between the two groups going back several centuries are still maintained through cross-border visits by relatives.[17]

Apart from recent MA fieldwork by anthropologist Wen Yao, in-depth research on Pumi has not been conducted in the Wenquan area. This paper hopes to fill some of those lacunae. For anthropological research conducted in other Pumi areas see Wellens (1998, 2010) and Harrell (2001).

FUNERALS

Ideally, a Pumi dies by the hearth in the central room of his or her home. A person who dies outside the home becomes a *ʈɨtsú* 'hungry ghost'. When a person dies, a male household member closes the eyes of the deceased, pours melted yak butter[18] with a piece of gold or silver in their mouth, and closes it. He folds the arms over the chest, bends the legs into a fetal position, and leaves the body lying down facing the hearth. An elder who feels death is near, often lies on the right side of the hearth in this position. A table is put near the corpse. A butterlamp is lit and put on the table together with rice, meat, an

[16] In terms of religion, the area shows more similarity to Pumi-speaking Tibetans to the north than to animist Pumi areas to the south. Linguistically, the Wenquan speech variety shows overlap with the variety in Yiji Township, as well as other speech varieties in Ninglang County. The Wenquan area is also a bottleneck for trade: people from Yiji Township and Pumi areas further north usually pass through Wenquan on their way to Yongning or Lijiang.

[17] The term 'relatives' used in this paper includes members of a person's patrilineal clan and affinal relatives.

[18] The Pumi in Wenquan do not raise yaks, but buy yak butter from relatives or friends who do.

egg, brick tea, alcohol, and cigarettes. As soon as other villagers hear the wailing of the women of the household, every household sends a member with rice, meat, an egg, biscuits, and liquor[19] that are placed on the table. A person[20] sits next to the table and announces to the deceased which household has come to bring food and liquor and asks the deceased not to trouble that household. Meanwhile, the family of the deceased sends someone to invite one or two monks to come to the home, since the corpse can only be handled by the preparers of the corpse after monks chant Buddhist scriptures.

After the monks leave and it is dark, a group of young men comes to prepare the corpse. Household members are absent during this ritual. The men wash the body with lukewarm water in which pieces of cypress wood have been soaked, and use a hemp rope to secure the body's fetal position. A white (usually hemp) bag is soaked in melted yak butter, the body is put inside, and the bag is tied. A hole is then dug in the side-room,[21] the body is placed inside, and the hole is covered with wood and wet earth. The table with the butterlamps and offerings to the deceased is put next to the buried corpse. The rest of the offerings brought by villagers are consumed by the men, who then go home to ritually cleanse themselves with water and fumigate themselves with the smoke of *pɐnʲǽ* 'wormwood' or $q^{hw}\check{e}$ 'lowland rhododendron'. The deceased's clothes are burned in a gully outside the village. The date for the funeral is calculated by a monk the next day.

The complete funeral event lasts three days and two nights. On the first day, close relatives arrive and start such preparations as cooking. On the second day, guests from other villages and monks

[19] In this paper 'liquor' refers to a distilled alcoholic beverage that is usually store-bought. The Chinese term is *baijiu*. During funerals it is presented in 500ml bottles. 'Ale' is used to distinguish beer brewed at home from store-bought commercial beer. We refer to the latter as 'beer'. It is not possible to buy ale in the market, where liquor and beer can be easily purchased.
[20] This person may be a household member or somebody who has been invited beforehand, such as a close relative or someone with a good relationship with the household who understands the ritual.
[21] On the symbolic 'upper' side of the house; the 'lower' side is for giving birth.

arrive.[22] Female guests go straight to the door of the side-room to wail and mourn the deceased. Men are expected to show little emotion. The guests present such gifts as cash, pork back, maize, wheat, rice, a jar of ale, and a bottle of liquor. The amount of the gifts is standard and is reciprocated in kind on other funeral occasions. The *xʷáʑʷæ* ritual speech accompanies presentation of these gifts. After having presented their gifts, guests are served a meal in the courtyard and then go to the village household that is hosting them. The remainder of the day is spent eating and drinking at different households designated by the village to entertain guests, and at relatives' households. The monks stay at the household of the deceased to read Buddhist scriptures and conduct rituals. The most important ritual conducted during the funeral is the one conducted by monks on behalf of the dead to release their soul *dʑɤ̆* 'soul' from *níwanisɔ̂ŋ* 'hell' so that it can be reborn quickly.[23]

All Pumi in Wenquan practice cremation, which takes place on the third day between six and seven a.m. The body is placed in a brightly painted wooden palanquin at an auspicious time calculated by monks during the funeral. This container is carried to the *bɤ̂tsɨ* 'cremation site' outside the village and placed inside a wooden pyre. Monks sit near the pyre, reciting scriptures during the cremation ritual. At a certain point in the ritual, the pyre is lit and the deceased's household members who were crying next to the pyre now begin kowtowing. When the kowtowing ends, spectators return to the village. The monks stay. Upon entering the village of the deceased, people wash their faces and hands in the village stream or a communal tap and purify themselves by wafting the smoke of wormwood or lowland rhododendron fires that are lit at household doorways over and around their bodies.

Breakfast is served to the monks and the guests at the household of the deceased around nine a.m. Afterwards, the host

[22] Sixteen monks were invited to conduct rituals at a funeral we attended in 2010.

[23] There are several views about what happens to a soul after death. The animist view is that the soul travels back to the land of the ancestors. The Buddhist view says that the soul is reborn after forty-nine days. The lay view of post-death seems to incorporate both views.

family, through the *ʈidzɔ́ŋ* ritual, thank relatives and friends for attending and helping. The monks do not attend this ritual. After eating breakfast, the host family takes the monks to their homes by car, mule, or motorcycle. All other guests leave after the *ʈidzɔ́ŋ* ritual.

The two funeral speeches below are the *xʷáʑʷæ* 'dedication speech ritual', which visiting relatives hold when presenting gifts upon arrrival at the host family's household, and the *ʈidzɔ́ŋ* 'appreciation speech ritual' at the end of the funeral.

THE XʷÁʑʷÆ DEDICATION SPEECH RITUAL

The term *xʷáʑʷæ* means 'gift-giving'.[24] In the Wenquan area, funerals are ceremonious and grand affairs, since people believe that the outcome of a person's incarnation partly depends on the scale of the funeral. Additionally, an extravagant funeral demonstrates a family's prestige. Funerals are thus a large expense for a household. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, a funeral cost 50,000 to 200,000 RMB,[25] which was chiefly spent on food for guests and payment to monks. The amount spent depends on the household's finances. Many households go into debt to fund such rituals.

When a funeral is conducted, both patrilineal clan relatives and affinal relatives extend financial and material help in the form of gifts and assistance in cooking for and serving guests. When relatives from other villages arrive at the household of the deceased by mule caravan[26] or car to present their gifts, the host family displays all the gifts in the household courtyard. The funeral gifts are standard, generally known, and not recorded. These gifts are repaid in kind at other funerals. Only smaller gifts that do not fit the standard reciprocal category, such as cash gifts by Nuosu (Yi) friends, are recorded for future reference. Visiting relatives stand by the gifts and offer a dedication speech. They might choose for their representative

[24] The term is only used for this particular ritual.
[25] At the time of publication, six RMB was approximately one USD.
[26] A caravan consists of at least one horse and three mules loaded with goods.

a man who is considered 'eloquent', i.e., who has a good understanding of the poetics and register of formal speech genres and is proficient in delivering the speeches in the correct form and register. Funeral speeches are a subclass of speeches in general and show poetic qualities, especially the use of parallelism (see lines one, two, three, four, and seven below) and the employment of metaphors (see lines two, three, four, seven, and eight below).

Parallellism and metaphors are also used in blessings, another type of speech. Speeches have no specific meter. When a dedication speech is held, other guests in the courtyard listen. Apart from the dedication speech, of which the wording is completely formulaic, and the display of gifts in the courtyard center, the ritual is rather informal. Others stand around in the courtyard and listen. They do not have designated spots in the couryard.

The following dedication speech was given by Nianba Pincuo during a funeral in Wadu on 18 July 2012. It was recorded by Gerong Pincuo who transcribed it, edited it, and translated it into Chinese. Henriette Daudey provided the English translation and glosses.[27] The explanation of the dedication speech follows the interlinear text.

X	bʉ	nɔŋ	Y	bʉ	
X	household	and	Y	household	

ɐpʉ́	bu	gə̂	ʈʂʰǎ	gæ	tɕʰû,
grandfather	TOP	nine	generation	GEN	relative

ɐdî	bu	n̥ʲə̌	ʈʂʰǎ	gæ	tɕʰû.
grandmother	TOP	seven	generation	GEN	relative

1. Household X and Household Y have nine generations of blood relations on Grandfather's side and seven generations of blood relations on Grandmother's side.[28]

[27] Gloss abbreviations used in this paper are given at the end of the English version of this paper.
[28] *ɐpʉ́* and *ɐdî* refer to paternal as well as maternal grandparents.

təɕɛ́ tɕʰâutɕæ bu
now relatives TOP

ɻʷɛ́mɑ bi bu ɻʷɛ́ɖɑu gə nɬ́ni;
drying rack pole on TOP drying rack brace DEF like this

ɻʷɛ́ɖɑu bi bu ɻʷɛ̂qʷɛi gə nɬ́ni;
drying rack brace on TOP drying rack pen DEF like this

ɻʷɛ̂qʷɛi bi bu ɻʷɛ̂tɑ gə nɬ́ni;
drying rack pen on TOP drying rack stone DEF like this

2. The current blood relationship is like the drying rack braces on the drying rack poles; like the drying rack pens on the drying rack braces; like the stones holding the pens of the drying rack.

ɐkâu gæ qʉ̵dî bu
uncle GEN loving-kindness TOP

qʷɛ́ gæ qæ̂ŋ wu bu wusə̆ŋ gə nɬ́ni tɛ̂i;
ox GEN neck on TOP mountain wood DEF like EXIST.H

gʷə̆ gæ dú tu bu ɕî gə nɬ́ni tɛ̂i;
horse GEN back on TOP saddle DEF like EXIST.H

ɻʷɛ́ gæ qæ̂ŋ wu bu ɻʷɛ́ɖʷəŋ gə nɬ́ni tɛ̂i;
yak GEN neck on TOP yak rope DEF like EXIST.H

tsɛ́ gæ dú tu bu jɛ̂səŋ gə nɬ́ni tɛ̂i;
yak GEN neck on TOP yak rope DEF like EXIST.H
ɐkâu gæ qʉ̵dî bu
uncle GEN loving-kindness TOP

tʰə̆-pʰʉ̵̆ nə̆-tsʰá ɻɨ́ mă ɕǐ.
FR.SP-repay DOWN-finish can NEG can

3. Uncle's[29] loving-kindness is like the yoke on an ox's neck; it is like the saddle on the back of a horse; it is like the rope around the neck of a yak; it is like the arrow stuck in the back of a red deer. Uncle's loving-kindness can never be totally repaid.

ɛ́	ʈʰɨ̂gɔŋ	gə	bu	tʰɛ̌-ɻɛ́ŋ,[30]		
1SG	leg	DEF	TOP	FR.SP-long		
ʑɨʈʰɨ̌		gə	bu	tʰɛ̌-tsʰɔ̂ŋ;		
trouser leg		DEF	TOP	FR.SP-short		
ɛ́	ʑɐgɔ́ŋ	gə	bu	tʰɛ̌-ɻɛ́ŋ,		
1SG	forearm	DEF	TOP	FR.SP-long		
pɑjɨ̌	gə	bu	tʰɛ̌-tsʰɔ̂ŋ;			
sleeve	DEF	TOP	FR.SP-short			
ɛ́	nɛ̌-sɑ̂udʲɑu	tu	ɛ̌-dzɑ̌,	ɻɨ́	mɑ̌	ʂɨ̌.
1SG	DOWN-think	on	IN-achieve	can	NEG	can

4. My legs are too long, my trouser legs are too short; my forearms are too long, my sleeves are too short. I am not able to achieve what I thought.

təɕɛ́	ɛ́	ɻɐdʑɨ̌	tɛ̌	nə̌	ʈʂɨ̌	ti,
now	1SG	liquor	one	two	CL:pound	INDEF
dʑɨ̌	tɛ̌	nə̌	tʰɤ̆	ti,		
tea	one	two	CL:pack	INDEF		

[29] *ɐkâu* refers to maternal uncles.
[30] The character 'ɻ' in the term *ɻǽŋ*, here and elsewhere in the text, should be represented as voiceless by the use of a circle beneath it, but we were unable to include this character.

tsʰĭ	tɛ̆	nə̆	ʈɔ̂ŋ	ti,
salt	one	two	CL:piece	INDEF

ʈʰû~~bu~~-li	ti,	tságɔŋ-li	ti,	
ale jar-DIM	INDEF	pork.back-DIM	INDEF	

gû	tɛ̆	nə̆	ɖʷə̆ŋ	ti,
grain	one	two	CL:measuring cup	INDEF

pɛ̆	tɛ̆	nə̆	ɖʷə̆ŋ	ti,
flour	one	two	CL:measuring cup	INDEF

ɕauɕău	tɛ̆	nə̆	măŋ	ti	də̆-ʐă
paper	one	two	CL:yuan	INDEF	TO.SP-carry

ɐkâu	gæ	qɯ~~d~~ʲî	pʰă~~ɯ~~	ʐɨ́	səŋ.
uncle	GEN	loving-kindness	repay	come	PERF:EGO

5. Now I have brought one or two bottles of liquor, one or two packets of tea, one or two pieces of salt, a small jar of ale, a small pork back, one or two measuring cups of grain, one or two measuring cups of flour, and one or two pieces of paper (*yuan*) to come and repay Uncle's loving-kindness.

ɛ́	nɛ̆-sâudʲau	kʰi	bu,	lʲækǽ	bu	ɕê	ʐŭ	tĭ
1SG	DOWN-think	time	TOP	things	TOP	big	very	one

pɯ́	ʂu	ɕi	səŋ	kʰi	bu,	
do	VOL:SG	think PERF:EGO	time	TOP		

bɛ̂gu	gɔŋ	tɕʰɔ̆ŋ	ɻɨ̆	mí	ɕĭ.
competence	AGT	complete	can	PERF:NEG	can

6. When I was first thinking about it, I wanted to do things[31] in a very big way, but, because of (my lack of) competence, I could not complete it.

təɕǽ	ɛ́	gæ	nɨ́	tǐ	jɛ̌i	mə	gə	bu
now	1SG	GEN	thus	one	get	NMZ	DEF	TOP

pʉ́	dʑɔŋ	wu	bu
snow	falling	in	TOP

tʰulǐ	gæ	ɻʷɛ̂	nɨ́	ti	tɑ	dzɨ̂;
hare	GEN	road	thus	INDEF	only	be

jíŋmu	qʰu	bu	
tree trunk	on	TOP	

ɐlʲú	gæ	ɻʷɛ̂	nɨ́	ti	tɑ	dzɨ̂;
squirrel	GEN	road	thus	INDEF	only	be

tʰɐmɑ́	gɔŋ	bu	tɕîʂɔŋ	ʈʷə̌ŋ	ɖɑu	
pine branch	AGT	TOP	clean water	sprinkle	DIR	

nɨ́	ti	tɑ	dzɨ̂.
thus	INDEF	only	be

7. The things that I have brought now are only like a hare trail in the falling snow, only like a squirrel trail on a tree trunk, only like clean water sprinkled with a pine branch.

tə̂	pɐtsɨ́	qʰɐtsɛ̂i	gə	bu	hí	ɻæ	ɻʉtɕʰí	
this	flower	small	GEN	TOP	god	PL:GEN	front	

pɐtsɨ́	tə́-pɛ̌	gæ	tíŋɖʷi	kʰə̌-tɕʰə̂ŋ	ɕə̂ŋ.	

[31] 'Do things' implies helping the deceased's household by bringing many gifts.

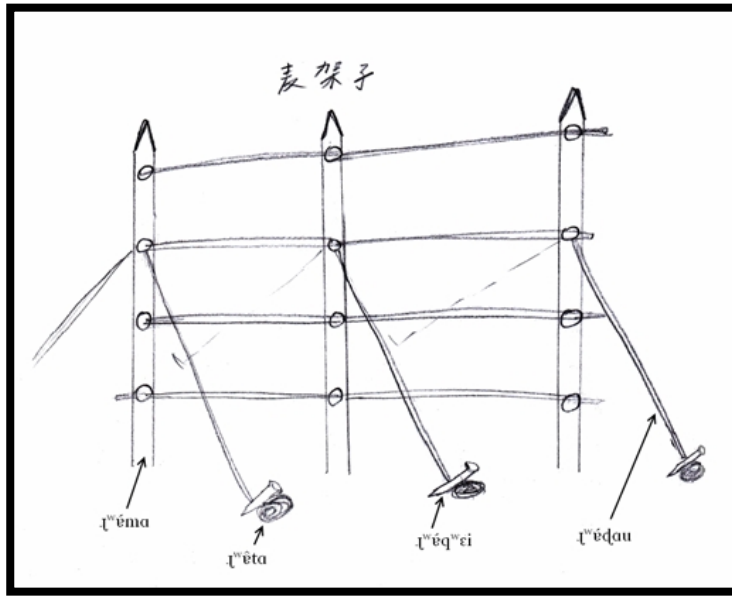
flower UP-bloom GEN luck OUT-come go:IMP:SG

8. May this small flower receive a blessing of blooming flowers before the deities.

The start of the speech (line 1) immediately indicates that the relationship between the deceased's household and that of the guests goes back several generations. The numbers 'nine' and 'seven' are symbolic, and indicate that the relationship between the two households is extremely close. 'Nine' is generally associated with males and 'seven' with females.[32]

This closeness is also symbolised by the metaphor of the drying rack (line 2; see Figure 2 below), wooden structures used for drying buckwheat, barley, oats, and wheat. The metaphor states that family relationships are like a drying rack; if one of the parts is missing, the whole drying rack disintegrates.

Figure 2. Drying rack (illustration by Gerong Pincuo).



[32] The source of these numbers is unclear. Nine generations of male ancestors and seven generations of female ancestors are also mentioned in offerings to the ancestors.

After describing the relationship between the two households, the speaker uses a series of metaphors to describe the 'loving-kindness' of the deceased towards him (line 3). The word *qʉdî* 'loving-kindness' is not commonly used and refers to the care of parents for their children, or the help given by others in times of need. The speaker uses the yoke of a plow ox (poetically described as 'mountain wood'), the saddle of a horse, the rope that lassoed a yak, and the arrow stuck in the back of a red deer as metaphors to describe the intimacy and the bond of loving-kindness between the deceased and the speaker. The imagery is taken from different areas of daily life: agriculture (plow ox and yoke); trade (horse and saddle, denoting a mule caravan); husbandry (yak and rope, denoting yak herding); and hunting (red deer and arrow). Animals cannot escape the yoke, saddle, rope, or arrow, though they are burdens. The ox must still carry the yoke for plowing, even though it is very heavy. In the same way, even though Uncle's loving-kindness is very great and cannot be repaid, the speaker will still attempt to repay it.

The speaker's conclusion is that uncle's loving-kindness is very great and the relatives lack the means and ability to totally repay him. The metaphor, 'my arms and legs are too long and my sleeves are too short' (line 4) expresses the speaker's limitations, and that they failed to achieve what they set out to do. This form of self-effacement is used as a disclaimer of their performance[33] of gift-giving.

Even so, the speaker goes on, the guests have brought a range of gifts, which are now listed (line 5): the basic necessities of Pumi life: liquor,[34] tea, salt,[35] ale, pork back, grain, flour; and paper (referring to money). Ale is home-brewed beer that is made from a mixture of

[33] For a discussion on performance see Bauman (1975). Disclaimers of performance in Pumi are used as performance keys of the formal speech genre. They are not only used to disclaim a speaker's ability to communicate, but also to disclaim their ability to uphold cultural values, such as to provide adequate gifts to the grieving family. Funerals are performances in which both the host family and the guests perform important cultural values as expressed through formal speeches.

[34] Liquor is counted in *jin*, since bottles of liquor normally hold 500 milliliters.

[35] This refers to rock salt, of which they brought a few pieces.

barley, highland barley, corn, and buckwheat or millet. It has a slightly higher alcohol content than store-bought beer. Ale is brewed in jars, and an unopened jar of home-brewed ale is one of the funeral gifts. Pork back (pipa meat) is the traditionally cured back of a fattened pig that is slaughtered in winter. The carcass is scalded with boiling water. The innards, bones, and lean meat are removed so that only the fat-layered rump remains. The inside of the rump is sprinkled with salt and prickly ash and then sewn up. The pork back is then stored horizontally on the raised wood platform in the hearth room (and nowadays also on planks in the side-room), and can be kept for years. Grain and flour are measured using traditional wooden measuring cups used in the past as standard dry measures. The *ɖʷə̌ŋ* holds about a liter. The amounts are modestly downplayed to the smallest possible numbers, 'one or two' of each gift, as a form of symbolic self-effacement.

Three other metaphors are used to describe the minimal impact the relatives' gifts have in helping the grieving family (line 7). These are again used as a disclaimer of performance. As invisible as 'a hare trail in the snow', as shallow as 'a squirrel trail on a tree trunk', and as insignificant as 'clean water sprinkled with a pine branch' all indicate that their help does not make the least difference. In Wenquan Pumi culture, a pine branch is used to sprinkle clean water on the home hearth and on a household's mountain shrine every morning as part of a daily incense burning ritual beseeching blessings and protection for the household. Every household has its own mountain shrine, an altar surrounded by a grove of trees in which prayer flags are strung, located on the mountain next to the village.

The speech ends in a prayer that the deities will look favorably on this offering of insignificant gifts 'a small flower' and bless it with a multiplication of much bigger blessings 'blooming flowers' (line 8). This illustrates a spiritual aspect in the mundane activity of helping relatives. Ultimately gift recipients are not only the host family, but also the deities.

THE ʈidzɔ̀ŋ APPRECIATION SPEECH RITUAL

The Pumi term *ʈidzɔ́ŋ* 'to sit in a row' has a happy connotation and was used in the past for such events as weddings. Nowadays, it is only used at the end of a funeral to thank the guests. The *ʈidzɔ́ŋ* appreciation speech ritual is conducted in the courtyard of the house after cremation has taken place and the guests are ready to leave. At this time, relatives and other guests sit on benches in two rows facing each other. Men and women sit together with older people on the uphill side. Between the two rows enough space is left for two people to run back and forth side by side: the passageway for the people who offer guests drinks. The table of those who preside over the ritual to one side of the guests is below the eaves of the shrine-room. Seated at this table are venerable clan elders and relatives who gave the largest cash or material gifts. After everybody sits, the host, or a villager chosen for his eloquence, gives a speech thanking relatives and friends. Like the dedication speech, the appreciation speech is poetic (displaying parallellism in lines one, three, five, six, seven, eight, and nine, and metaphor in line three) and frequently has an extremely self-effacing and humbling theme, expressing the incompetence of the host family (as can be seen in lines one, three, six, seven, eight, and nine below). The latter is used as a means to honor the other party and strengthen social ties between relatives from different villages.

After the speaker has expressed the host family's appreciation for the guests, two young men offer him one horn of *ɻɐdʑɨ̀* 'distilled liquor' and one horn of *næŋnǽŋ* 'sweet liquor'. Sweet liquor is made from fermented wheat, corn, or rice and looks like porridge. The gruel and liquid are consumed together. The host drains two yak horns with an expression of disgust to indicate the poor quality of the alcohol (another disclaimer of performance). Then the two young men serve elders and guests. They offer liquor with bended waist, lowered heads, and the yak horn raised high above their heads. This expresses respect to elders and guests. This is a time of laughter and entertainment. The young men run back and forth between the guests

to serve them as quickly as possible, and guests sporadically try to trip them up in order to make them spill the liquor. Guests who do not drink the liquor or spill some liquor when drinking are pricked in their neck or face with pine needles by young women and men from the village as punishment. A guest is also punished if they are observed to not swallow the alcohol but, instead, keep it in their mouth to spit out later. After all guests have drunk the two horns of liquor, they bid farewell to the host family and return to their own villages.

The following dedication speech was given by Nianba Pincuo[36] during a funeral in Wadu on 19 July 2012. It was transcribed, edited, and translated into Chinese by Gerong Pincuo, and translated into English and glossed by Henriette Daudey. An explanation follows the interlinear text.

ɛ́	tə́	ɐkû̂u	gə	bu
1SG	this	uncle	DEF	TOP

ʑ̍î	ɻæ	tɛ̌	n̥ɔ̂ŋ	bu	ʈʂâ	nɬni
EXIST.AN	PL:GEN	one	CL:day	TOP	dirt	like this

nɛ̌-sɨ̌	ɻæ	tɛ̌	n̥ɔ̂ŋ	bu
DOWN-die	PL:GEN	one	CL:day	TOP

mə̂	q^hu	tə́-ʂ̍êi.
sky	on	UP-go:PERF:NON.EGO

1. My uncle was like dirt on the day he was alive; on the day he died he went to Heaven.

mə̂	q^hu	tə́-ʂ̍êi	lɑ
sky	on	UP-go:PERF:NON.EGO	also

[36] Giving both speeches presented indicates his eloquence. The guests as well as the host family designated him as the representative for their respective households.

ɕîmə	pɛikʷə̂ŋ,	qʰóŋmə	tɕʰûutɕæ	ɻæ	
village person	brothers	family	relatives	PL:GEN	

kʷə̂ʈi	dzɨ́;
contribution	be

nǐŋ = ɻɔŋni	ɖæmíŋ	gɔ̂ŋbɑ	ʈɐtsʰɔ́ŋ
2 = PL:AGT	Draemin	monastery	monastic community

n̥ʲə̌	ɻɛi	gə	ɐ̆-dzɑ̆u	kʷɛ́i
seven	CL:hundred	DEF	IN-gather	let:PERF:NON.EGO

2. That he went to Heaven is also due to the contribution of (my) village brothers and relatives; you made 700 monks from Draemin Monastery gather.

təɕǽ	ɛ́	bu	ʑɐgɔ́ŋ	gə	bu	tʰɐ̆-ɻǽŋ,
now	1SG	TOP	forearm	DEF	TOP	FR.SP-long

pɑjǐ	gə	bu	tʰɐ̆-tsʰɔ̂ŋ,
sleeve	DEF	TOP	FR.SP-short

qʰə̆-tɕʰú	bu	mə̂	mǽŋ	ɻɨ́	mɑ̆	ɕǐ;
OUT-measure	TOP	person	keep up with	can	NEG	can

ʈʰɨ̂gɔŋ	gə	bu	tʰɐ̆-ɻǽŋ,
lower leg	DEF	TOP	FR.SP-long

ʑɨʈʰɨ̆	gə	bu	tʰɐ̆-tsʰɔ̂ŋ,
trouser leg	DEF	TOP	FR.SP-short

qʰə̆-ɖʷɑ̆	bu	mə̂	mǽŋ	ɻɨ́	mɑ̆	ɕǐ.
OUT-step	TOP	person	keep up with	can	NEG	can

3. Now my forearms are too long and my sleeves are too short, when I measure with an outstretched hand, I cannot keep up with people;

my legs are too long and my trouser legs are too short, when I take a step, I cannot keep up with people.

ɕîmə	pɛikʷə̂ŋ,	qʰɔ́ŋmə	tɕʰə̂utɕæ,	
village person	brothers	family	relatives	

nǐŋ = ɻɔŋ	ɖæmíŋ	gɔ̂ŋbɑ	ʈɐtsʰɔ́ŋ
2 = PL:AGT	Draemin	monastery	monastic community

n̥ʲə̌	ɻɛi	gə
seven	CL:hundred	DEF

ɐ̌-dzə̆u	kʷɛ́i	kʰi	bu
IN-gather	let:PERF:NON.EGO	time	TOP

ɐ́	ɐkə̂u	gə	bu	níwɑnisɔ̂ŋ	wu	
1SG	uncle	DEF	TOP	hell	in	

tí-dʑi	tʰə̆	mə̆	tʰɔ̆ŋ	mə	lɑ	
upwards-location	escape	NEG	can	NMZ	also	

tí-dʑi	tɔ̀-tʰə̆	kʷɛ́i.
upwards-location	UP-escape	let:PERF:NON.EGO

4. Village brothers and relatives, when you had 700 monks from Draemin Monastery gather, you also helped my uncle who was unable to escape from Helm, escape upwards (to Heaven).

ʑɛ̂gizɛ́ɻi	dzɨ̂	lɑ	bu
in the future	be	also	TOP

ɐ́	gæ	tsʉ̂	nɔŋ	n̥ə̂	ɻɨ	bi
1SG	GEN	son	and	daughter	PL	LOC

nǐŋ = ɻæ	qʉɖî	nɐ̌-sə̂uɖʲɑu	kɛ́i	ʂu;	
2SG = PL:GEN	loving-kindness	DOWN-think	let	VOL:SG	

tsʉ̂	nɔŋ	m̥ə̂	ɻɔŋ	ts^{hw}ɨ̌	mɑ̆	t^{h}ɔ̆ŋ	lɑ,
son	and	daughter	PL:AGT	return	NEG	can	also

jîtsɨ	jílu	ɻɨ	bi	
grandson	granddaughter	PL	LOC	

nǐŋ = ɻæ	qʉdʲ̂	nɐ̆-sâudʲɑu	kɛi	ʂu.	
2 = PL:GEN	loving-kindness	DOWN-think	let	VOL:SG	

5. In the future, I will have my sons and daughters think of your loving-kindness; if my sons and daughters cannot repay you, I will have my grandsons and granddaughters remember your loving-kindness.

təɕǽ	ɐ́	m̥ə̂	ɖɨdʲ̂	gə	bu
now	1SG	person	bad	DEF	TOP

dɐɻɛ̌i	gə	tɔ́ŋ	mɑ̆	ʂu	ɕí,	
speech	DEF	narrate	NEG	VOL:SG	think	

tɔ́ŋ	k^{hw}ǎ	ɐ́	qâŋ	wu	k^{h}ə̆-tɕ^{h}ɔ̂ŋ	
narrate	responsibility	1SG	neck	in	OUT-come:PERF:NON.EGO	

lʲækǽ	gə	pʉ́	mɑ̆	ʂu	ɕí,
things	DEF	do	NEG	VOL:SG	think

lʲækǽ	gə	ɐ́	qâŋ	wu	k^{h}ə̆-tɕ^{h}ɔ̂ŋ	
things	DEF	1SG	neck	in	OUT-come:PERF:NON.EGO	

6. Now I – this incapable person – do not want to continue to speak, but the responsibility of speaking has come down on my neck; I don't want to conduct these things (i.e., the funeral), but the things have come down on my neck.

mə̀	ɖɨɖə̂	gə	bu
person	bad	DEF	TOP

dɐɻɛ̌i	sɔ̌ŋ	gû	ɻɨ	bu	qʰɤ̆	tu	tɔ́ŋ
speech	three	CL:phrase	PL	TOP	head	on	narrate

sɔ̌ŋ	gû	ɻɨ	bu	mæ̂ŋ	tu	tɔ́ŋ	wə̂ŋ
three	CL:phrase	PL	TOP	head	on	narrate	can

ʈʂʰɨ̆	ɖɨɖə̂	gə	bu	ɕîɻæŋ	sɔ̌ŋ	gû
dog	bad	DEF	TOP	village top	three	CL:phrase

ɕîmæŋ	sɔ̌ŋ	gû	tŭ	wə̂ŋ.	
village end	three	CL:phrase	bark	can	

7. This incapable person can speak three phrases at the beginning and three at the end; this incapable dog can bark three phrases at the top of the village and three at the bottom of the village.

ɕîmə	pɛikʷə̂ŋ,	qʰɔ́ŋmə	tɕʰâutɕæ,
village person	brothers	family	relatives

nɨ̌ŋ = ɻɔŋni	ɛ́	gæ	dɐɻɛ̌i	ɖɨɖə̂	gə	bu
2 = PL:AGT	1SG	GEN	speech	bad	DEF	TOP

kə̂tɑ	gæ	nû	nɛ̆-pʰɛ̆	qʰʷæŋ;
threshold	GEN	outside	DOWN-throw away	POL:PL

dɐɻɛ̌i	tɕʰʷí	gû	gə	bu
speech	good	CL:phrase	DEF	TOP

mə̀diŋ	tʰɛ̆-zɑ̆	qʰʷæŋ.
place	FR.SP-carry	POL:PL

8. Village brothers and relatives, please throw away my bad speech outside the threshold; and please carry the good phrases to other places.

pʉsə̂ŋ	kʰæ	tə̂	ɻɐdʑɨqʰʷɑ́	gə,
this morning	time:GEN	this	liquor bowl	DEF

næŋnæŋqʰʷɑ́	gə	bu
sweet liquor bowl	DEF	TOP

ʈʂú	lɑ	kʰə̆-tʰĭŋ	qʰʷæŋ,	qʰæ̆	lɑ	kʰə̆-tʰĭŋ	qʰʷæŋ.
sour	also	OUT-drink	POL:PL	bitter	also	OUT-drink	POL:PL

9. This morning, please drink this bowl of liquor and this bowl of sweet liquor; please drink it even if it is sour or bitter.

təɕɑ́	ɤ́	tɕʰɨnɨ́	pʉ́	tʰĭŋ	ɖɑu	gə
now	1SG	how	do	drink	DIR	DEF

nɨ́	pʉ́	kʰə̆-tʰĭŋ	qʰʷæŋ.
thus	do	OUT-drink	POL:PL

10. Please drink it the same way as I drink it now.

tʰəʐə̂!
thank you

11. Thank you!

The appreciation speech starts with, "My uncle was like dirt on the day he was alive" (line one). This self-effacing statement presents the deceased as unimportant, but, after his passing, the deceased 'went to Heaven' (the term *mə̂* 'sky' is also used to refer to 'Heaven'), indicating that the funeral was conducted in a grand, ceremonious way. Such an elaborate funeral was impossible without the help and material contribution of village 'brothers' and relatives,

who brought with them gifts such as those mentioned in the dedication speech (above). Their material and financial support made it possible to invite many monks to conduct funeral rituals for the deceased. In line four '700 monks' from Draemin Monastery are mentioned, which is hyperbolic.[37]

The same metaphor used in the dedication speech ritual ('our arms and legs are too long and our sleeves are too short,' see above) is used in an extended form in line three as an apology, conveying how inadequately the host family expresses their thanks and appreciation to the guests. Relatives' help made it possible to invite a group of monks who conducted rituals to help the deceased's soul escape from Hell (line four). The term 'loving-kindness' that was used to describe the deceased uncle (see line three of the dedication speech), is now used by the host family to describe their relatives' loving-kindness for them (line five). If their relatives' loving-kindness in helping the deceased escape from Hell cannot be repaid now, later generations will repay it.

The appreciation speech ritual continues with more self-effacing language (lines six and seven), disclaiming the speaker's eloquence, such as 'this incapable dog' that can only bark three random phrases. It invites the addressees to retain only the good words and leave the poorly spoken words behind (line eight).

As the speech finishes, the host invites the guests to drink the sour as well as the bitter liquor (line nine). Sour or bitter flavors only occur when ale or sweet liquor is poorly brewed. The host is suggesting that the alcohol he is serving is not very tasty, another disclaimer of performance. He also expresses this by grimacing when he drinks from the two horns. $q^{hw}\check{a}$ 'bowl' is used in the speech, but in the ritual the guests drink from yak horns. The ritual ends with the guests drinking and then leaving.

[37] Draemin Monastery is a Gelukpa Tibetan Buddhist monastery in the northeast of Yongning Town at the foot of Niupi Mountain. It has about 200 monks of whom only a few reside permanently at the monastery. The figure 700 may reflect the number of monks residing there at its peak.

Discussion and Conclusion

The two speech rituals described in this paper are important parts of Wenquan Pumi funerals. *xʷázɸʷæ* is the dedication speech delivered by visiting relatives when presenting gifts at the funeral. *ʈidzɔ́ŋ*, the appreciation speech, is given by the hosts shortly before the guests leave. These speech rituals function somewhat like the funeral's opening and closing ceremonies.

Parallels between the two speeches are evident. Apart from the parallellisms and metaphors typical for formal speeches in general, the word *qʉdʈî* 'loving-kindness' occurs in both speeches. In Wenquan Pumi culture the term 'loving-kindness' expresses a relationship between persons that is fostered by mutual aid and reciprocity. In the *xʷázɸʷæ* dedication speech, an attempt at repaying the loving-kindness of the deceased is made by guests, by bringing financial and material help. In the *ʈidzɔ́ŋ* appreciation speech, an attempt at repaying the loving-kindness of the guests is then made by the hosts in promising to remember and repay this loving-kindness across the generations. 'Loving-kindness' binds relatives together and is expressed in practical mutual aid during times of hardship.

The balance between giving and repaying that emerges from these speeches can also be seen in the broader context of Wenquan Pumi culture. For example, one should bring a gift when visiting relatives, and relatives should send the visitor off with a gift.[38] This mutual gift-giving strengthens relationships between relatives. This reciprocity is also visible during the funeral. When guests from other villages arrive on the second day of the funeral, they are invited to eat at their relatives' households that same night. Female guests visit and and present gifts (usually a packet of biscuits and a bottle of liquor) to every related household. On the morning of the day the guests leave, all related households visit with gifts for the guests to take home. Thus, funerals are important opportunities to strengthen family relationships and practice 'loving-kindness'.

[38] This is also done to avoid emptiness, which attracts bad luck.

The dedication and appreciation speeches described in this paper are good examples of traditional Pumi speeches: the use of metaphors and parallelism are exemplary for this type of verbal art. The authors hope that this paper will contribute to the maintenance of Pumi verbal art among the Pumi people and that, through this paper, those interested in the area will be able to acquire a better understanding of Pumi language and culture.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AGT	agentive
CL	classifier
COLL	collective plural
DEF	definite
DIM	diminutive
DIR	direct evidential
DOWN	downwards
EGO	egophoric
EXIST.AN	animate existential
EXIST.H	horizontal plane existential
FR.SP	from speaker
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
IN	inwards
INDEF	indefinite
INSTR	instrumental
LOC	locative
NMZ	nominalizer
NEG	negation
NON.EGO	non-egophoric
OUT	outwards
PERF	perfective
POL	polite
PL	plural
SG	singular
TOP	topic
TO.SP	towards speaker
UP	upwards
VOL	volitional

Non-English Terms

B

Bai 白
baijiu 白酒
Bajia 八家
Biqi 比奇

D

Diqing 迪庆
Draemin ɖæmíŋ Monastery, see Zhameisi

G

Gelukpa (Dge lugs pa) དགེ་ལུགས་པ།
Gerong Pincuo 格荣品措

J

jin 斤
Jiulong 九龙

K

Kunming 昆明

L

Lijiang 丽江
Lanping 兰坪

M

Muli 木里

N

Nianba Pincuo 念巴品措
Ninglang 宁蒗
Niupi (Mountain) 牛皮(山)
Nuosu 诺苏

P

Pumi 普米

Q

Qiansuo 前所

R

RMB (Renminbi) 人民币

S

Sichuan 四川
srung ma སྲུང་མ།

T

Tuoqi 拖七

W

Wadu 瓦都
Wen Yao 文窈
Wenquan Cun 温泉村
Wenquan Cunweihui 温泉村委会

Y

Yanyuan 盐源
Yi 彝
Yiji 依吉
Yongning 永宁
yuan 元
Yunnan 云南

Z

Zhameisi 扎美寺
Zhong Wadu Cun 中瓦都村
zouhun 走婚

还不完的恩情：
温泉普米在葬礼中举行的 $x^{w}ɑ^{55}ʑ^{w}æ^{52}$和 $ʈi^{22}dzɔŋ^{55}$仪式

格荣品措 $kɛi^{55}zɔŋ^{55}$ $p^{h}iŋ^{22}ts^{h}u^{22}$
Henriëtte Daudey (La Trobe 大学,世界少数民族语文研究所,东亚部) [39]

1. 引言

本文介绍的是云南省丽江市宁蒗县永宁乡温泉村委会的普米（自称 $ʈ^{h}ɔŋ^{55}mə^{51}$）在葬礼中举行的 $x^{w}ɑ^{55}$ $ʑ^{w}æ^{51}$和 $ʈi^{22}dzɔŋ^{55}$两种仪式。

地理上温泉地区北与四川省木里藏族自治县的依吉乡相邻，东与四川省盐源县的前所乡相邻。温泉的普米大概有 100 户，800 左右的人口分别居住在瓦都村、八家村、比奇村和拖七村。

普米人生活的地区海拔都比较高，有牧区、农区和半农半牧区。温泉海拔在 2800 米左右，但是地势平坦，是山间的盆地，所以这里的普米都以农业为主，但是还饲养着很多的牲畜，例如：猪，牛，骡子，马，和羊等。

温泉处在一个特殊的地理位置上，它把云南的普米和四川木里操普米语的藏族连接起来，保持他们之间自古就建立好的紧密关系。从木里迁入温泉的普米，至今都跟木里的亲戚来往不绝，这包括了自己家族中的人和跟自己家族有婚姻关系的人。

从来没有人在温泉普米地区做过任何深入的研究，因此，这个地区，对语言学学者和人类学学者来说，可以说是学术界里的一块处女地。温泉普米信仰藏传佛教和原始宗教，这些与生俱来的信仰，密切地影响着我们的文化。每户普米家里的每件事都跟宗教息息相关，包括每日的三次用餐前都要在锅庄上祭祖先和山神；出远门前要请喇嘛来看日子；种地前要看属相；生病时要请喇嘛占卜，诵经和赶鬼；葬礼和婚礼也务必请喇嘛诵经。此外，有两个以上男孩的家庭都会把其中一个送到寺院习经当喇嘛。在普米人眼里看来，家里有位喇嘛的话，是这个家庭的骄傲和荣誉。

39 格荣品措来自云南省宁蒗县永宁乡温泉村委会瓦都村，是土生土长的普米，从小就很爱自己民族的语言和文化，并以拥有自己的文化和能够说出自己的语言而感到自豪。从 2005 年开始，跟一位香港老师合作研究普米语和普米音乐，2010 年 6 月开始跟荷兰学者 Henriëtte Daudey 女士合作研究温泉瓦都村的方言。格荣品措也在研究温泉普米文化的方方面面，并准备出版研究所得的成果。本文所介绍的葬礼仪式是研究的其中部分。

在温泉普米地区，人必须在堂屋的火塘边断气，否则人死后就会变成流浪鬼。当一位老者在火塘边断气的时候，主人家会马上请一两个喇嘛来为他诵经做法事。在喇嘛没为死者诵经之前，人不可以碰他的尸体。举行葬礼的日子也会请喇嘛算日子而定。

温泉境外北部四川的普米（讲普米的藏族）大部分都实行火葬，温泉地区的普米也都实行火葬。火葬的整套礼仪通常会举行三天两夜，当中以众喇嘛为逝者超度的仪式为最重要。火葬一般在葬礼第三天的早晨 6-7 点进行。

下面介绍的是普米葬礼中举行的 $x^{w}ɑ^{55}ʐ^{w}æ^{51}$ 和 $ʧi^{22}dzɔŋ^{55}$仪式。$x^{w}ɑ^{55}ʐ^{w}æ^{52}$是亲戚家带礼到主人家之后在院坝里摆礼时，亲戚对死者的献语；而 $ʧi^{22}dzɔŋ^{55}$ 是葬礼结束的时候主人家对亲戚和朋友感谢的献语。

温泉普米地图（地图由 Henriëtte Daudey 用谷歌地图绘制）



2. 温泉普米葬礼中的 $x^{w}ɑ^{55}ʑ^{w}æ^{52}$

$x^{w}ɑ^{55}ʑ^{w}æ^{52}$在普米语中是"摆礼"的意思。在温泉的普米地区，葬礼举办得很隆重。一般的葬礼就需要花上几万人民币；这些费用包括买菜和喇嘛的工资等。葬礼花费是按每家人的条件而定的。但是很多家庭都会愿意为死者负下一身的债。这是因为他们认为为死者超度得越多，对死者的转世就越有利。所以，一场葬礼的花费往往会为每户人家带来不小的经济压力。

从以前到现在，不管是谁家，在举行葬礼时，亲戚们都会从金钱和物资方面给予帮助。当一户亲戚从自己的村子用马帮（或车）把物资运送到举行葬礼的人家时，主人家就会把亲戚家带过来的所有物资摆在院坝里。那时，带来物资的亲戚或者亲戚请一位能言的人主持这仪式，这人就会站在物资的一旁献语。能言的人就是懂得如何主持葬礼仪式的人。献语的时候，所有的客人都会过来旁听。献语的内容虽然都是公式化的，但其体裁却如诗歌般优美。献语采用的体裁有排比与比喻：排比见下文第 1-4 句，比喻见下文第 2、3、4、7、8 句。以下是一篇完整的献语的记录。

此献语是 2012 年 7 月 18 日念巴品措在瓦都葬礼中讲述，由格荣品措录音和整理。荷兰学者 Henriëtte Daudey 女士翻译成英语。[40]

X	$bʉ^{22}$	$nɔŋ^{22}$	Y	$bʉ^{22}$	
Y	家	和	Y	家	

$ɐ^{22}pʉ^{55}$	bu^{55}	$gə^{22}$	$ʈʂ^{h}æ^{22}$	$gæ^{55}$	$tɕ^{h}ɑu^{52}$,	
爷爷	（的话）	九	代数	的	亲戚	

$ɐ^{22}di^{55}$	bu^{22}	$ɳ̊^{j}ə^{22}$	$ʈʂ^{h}æ^{55}$	$gæ^{22}$	$tɕ^{h}ɑu^{52}$.	
奶奶	（的话）	七	代数	的	亲戚	

1. X 家和 Y 家是有着爷爷九代和奶奶七代的亲戚。

[40]本文所用缩略语如下：（施助）：施事格助词；（与助）：与格助词；（定冠）：定冠词；（不定）：不定冠词；（已行）：已行体；（自称）：自称句；（他称）：他称句；（名物化）：加在动词后表示名物化的助词；（新知）：新知式，直接发现的知识；（命令）：命令式；（单数）：单数；（复数）：复数；（之时）：时间从属子句标志；（的话）：主题标志；（往下、离说话人等）：动词趋向前缀。

tə^{22}ɕæ^{55} tɕ^{h}ɑu^{55}tɕæ^{22} bu^{22}
现在 亲戚 （的话）

ɻ^{w}ɐ^{55}mɑ^{55} bi^{22} bu^{22} ɻ^{w}ɐ^{55}ɖɑu^{55} gə^{22} nɨ^{22}ni^{22};
麦架子 边 （的话） 撑麦架子 （定冠） 像这样

ɻ^{w}ɐ^{55}ɖɑu^{55} bi^{22} bu^{22} ɻ^{w}ɐ^{55}q^{w}ɛi^{22} gə^{22} nɨ^{22}ni^{22};
撑麦架子 边 （的话） 麦架子钉 （定冠） 像这样

ɻ^{w}ɐ^{55} q^{w}ɛi^{22} bi^{22} bu^{22} ɻ^{w}ɐ^{55}tɑ^{22} gə^{22} nɨ^{22}ni^{22};
麦架子钉 边 （的话） 麦架子石头 （定冠） 像这样

2. 现在的亲戚关系的话，就像麦架子和撑着麦架子的木头这样；就像撑麦架子的木头和钉在撑着麦架子下的木桩这样；就像木桩和垫在木桩下面的石头这样。

ɐ^{22}kɑu^{55} gæ^{22} qʉ^{22}ɖi^{55} bu^{22}
舅舅 的 恩情 （的话）

q^{w}ɐ^{55} gæ^{55} qæŋ^{55} wu^{22} bu^{22}
牛 的 脖子 里 （的话）

wu^{22}səŋ^{22} gə^{55} nɨ^{22}ni^{22} tɛi^{52};
山柴 （定冠） 像这样 有

g^{w}əŋ^{22} gæ^{55} du^{55} tu^{22} bu^{22}
马 的 背 上 （的话）

ɕi^{22} gə^{55} nɨ^{22}ni^{22} tɛi^{52};
马鞍 （定冠） 像这样 有

ɻ^{w}ɐ^{55} gæ^{55} qæŋ^{55} wu^{22} bu^{22}
牦牛 的 脖子 里 （的话）

ɻ^{w}ɐ^{55}ɖ^{w}əŋ^{55} gə^{22} nɨ^{22}ni^{22} tɛi^{52};
牦牛套绳 （定冠） 像这样 有

tsɐ^{55} gæ^{55} du^{55} tu^{22} bu^{22}
马鹿 的 背 上 （的话）

jɐ^{55}səŋ^{22} gə^{55} nɨ^{22}ni^{22} tɛi^{52};
箭 （定冠） 像这样 有

ɐ^{22}kɑu^{55} gæ^{22} qʉ^{22}ɖi^{55} bu^{22}
舅舅 的 恩情 （的话）

tʰɐ^{22}-pʰʉ^{35} nɐ^{22}-tsʰɑ^{55} ɻɨ^{55} mɑ^{22} ɕi^{35}.
（离说话人）偿还 （往下）完 能 不 能

3. 舅舅的恩情，就像耕牛脖子上的轭；就像马背上的马鞍；就像牦牛脖子里的套绳；就像鹿背上的箭。舅舅的恩情没办法偿还完。

ɐ^{55} ʈʰɨ^{55}gɔŋ^{22} gə^{22} bu^{22} tʰɐ^{22}-ɻæŋ^{52},
我 下腿 （定冠） （的话） （离说话人）长

ʑɨ^{22}ʈʰɨ^{22} gə^{55} bu^{55} tʰɐ^{22}-tsʰɔŋ^{52};
裤脚 （定冠） （的话） （离说话人）短

ɐ^{55} ʑɐ^{22}qɔŋ^{55} gə^{55} bu^{22} tʰɐ^{22}-ɻæŋ^{52},
我 手臂 （定冠） （的话） （离说话人）长

pɑ^{22}ji^{22} gə^{55} bu^{55} tʰɐ^{22}-tsʰɔŋ^{52};
袖子 （定冠） （的话） （离说话人）短

ɐ^{55} nɐ^{22}-sɑu^{55}dʲɑu^{22} tu^{22} ɐ^{22}-dzɑ^{22} ɻɨ^{55} mɑ^{22} ɕi^{35}.
我 （往下）-想 上 （往中心）到达 能 不 能

4. 我的小腿太长，裤脚太短；我的手臂太长，衣袖太短。没能达到我所想的。

tə^{22}ɕæ^{55} ɐ^{55} ɻɐ^{22}dʑɨ^{35} tɐ^{22} nə^{22} ʈʂɨ^{55} ti^{22},
现在 我 白酒 一 二 斤 （不定）

dʑi^{35} tɐ^{22} nə^{22} t^{h}ʉ^{55} ti^{22},
茶 一 二 筒 （不定）

ts^{h}i^{35} tɐ^{22} nə^{22} ʈɔŋ^{55} ti^{22}, ʈ^{h}ʉ^{22}bʉ^{22}-li^{55} ti^{52},
盐 一 二 块 （不定） 黄酒坛-小 （不定）

tsɑ^{55}gɔŋ^{55}-li^{22} ti^{22}, gu^{55} tɐ^{22} nə^{22} ɖ^{w}əŋ^{55} ti^{22},
猪膘-小 （不定） 粮食 一 二 圆的量杯 （不定）

pɐ^{35} tɐ^{22} nə^{22} ɖ^{w}əŋ^{55} ti^{22},
面 一 二 圆的量杯 （不定）

ɕɑu^{22}ɕɑu^{35} tɐ^{22} nə^{22} mæŋ^{55} ti^{22} də^{22}-zɻɑ^{52},
纸 一 二 元 （不定） （往说话人）带

ɐ^{22}kɑu^{55} gæ^{22} qʉ^{22}ɖi^{55} p^{h}ʉ^{22} ʐɨ^{22} səŋ^{22}.
舅舅 的 恩情 偿还 来 （已行）（自称）

5. 现在我带着一两斤酒，一两筒茶，一两块盐巴，一小坛黄酒，一小个猪膘肉，一两筒粮食，一两筒面，一两块钱，来换舅舅的恩情了。

ɐ^{55} nɐ^{22}-sɑu^{55}d^{j}ɑu^{22} k^{h}i^{22} bu^{22},
我 （往下）-想 （之时） （的话）

l^{j}æ^{22}kæ^{55} bu^{55} ɕɐ^{55} zɻu^{22} ti^{55} pʉ^{55} ʂu^{22}
事情 （的话） 大 很 一 做 会

ɕi^{22} səŋ^{22} k^{h}i^{22} bu^{22},
想 （已行）（自称） （之时） （的话）

bɐ^{55}gu^{22} gɔŋ^{22} tɕ^{h}ɔŋ^{22} ɻɨ^{35} mi^{55} ɕi^{52}.
能力 （施助） 做好 能 没 能

6. 本来想把事情办很大，但是，我的能力有限。

tə^{22}ɕæ^{55}
现在

ɐ^{55} gæ^{55} nɨ^{55} ti^{55} jɛi^{22} mə^{55} gə^{22} bu^{22}
我 的 这样 一 拿 （名化） （定冠） （的话）

pʉ^{55} dʑɔŋ^{22} wu^{22} bu^{22}
雪 正在下 里 （的话）

tʰu^{22}li^{22} gæ^{55} ɻʷɐ^{55} nɨ^{22} ti^{22} tɑ^{22} dzɨ^{52};
兔子 的 路 这样 （不定） 只 是

jiŋ^{55}mu^{55} qʰu^{22} bu^{22}
树干 上面 （的话）

ɐ^{22}lʲu^{55} gæ^{55} ɻʷɐ^{55} nɨ^{22} ti^{22} tɑ^{22} dzɨ^{52};
松鼠 的 路 这样 （不定） 只 是

tʰɐ^{22}mɑ^{55} gɔŋ^{55} bu^{22}
松叶 （工具） （的话）

tɕɨ^{55}ʂɔŋ^{22} ʈʷəŋ^{22} ɖɑu^{22} nɨ^{55} tɑ^{22} dzɨ^{52}.
净水 散 （新知） 这样 只 是

7. 现在我带来的这点物资，就只像兔子在雪地里走过的脚印那样小，就只像松鼠在木杆上走过的路那样浅，就只像（烧香时）洒的净水那样少。

tə^{55} pɐ^{22}tsɨ^{55} qʰɐ^{22}tsɛi^{55} gə^{22} bu^{22}
这 花 小 （定冠） （的话）

hi^{55} ɻæ^{55} ɻʉ^{22}tɕʰi^{55}
神 （复数）的 面前

$pɐ^{22}tsɨ^{55}$	$tə^{55}$-$pɐ^{55}$	$gæ^{22}$	$tiŋ^{55}ɖ^{w}i^{55}$
花	（往上）开花	的	祝福

$k^{h}ə^{22}$-$tɕ^{h}ɔŋ^{22}$	$ɕɔŋ^{22}$.
（离中心）来（已行）（他称）	去（命令）（单数）

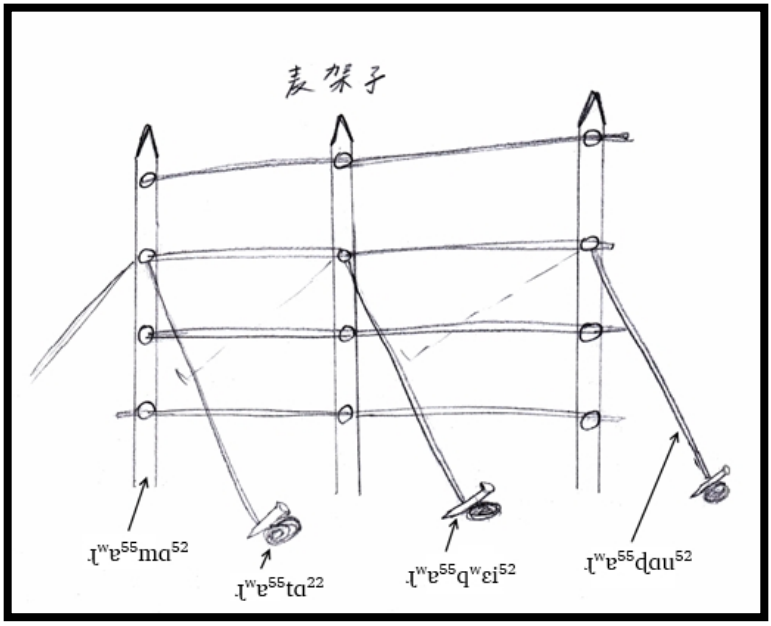
8. 我的这朵小花，希望能够在众神面前得到开放的福分。

献语的开始就开门见山地交代这两家人的亲戚关系很悠久。这里的九代和七代不是具体的数字，只是用这样的手法来说明这两家人有很深的亲戚关系而已。在普米文化里，九跟男性有关，七跟女性有关。

献语用麦架子来说明普米亲戚之间的关系。在普米人家里麦架子是用来挂收割回来的麦捆的建筑(见下面插图)。一个完整的麦架子是由不同部分来支撑着的，缺一不可。这麦架子比喻两家人的亲戚关系是分不开的。

献语者说了两家人的亲戚关系之后，就开始说到死者对自己的恩情。恩情这词不是常用的，一般用在描述父母对孩子的养育之恩,或者是某人对某人给予很大的帮助时才用。献语用耕牛之于軛，马之于马鞍，牦牛之于套牛绳，鹿之于箭这些比喻来说明死者与献语者之间的恩情也就是如此的关系。他负有很重的舅舅的恩情，这恩情是必须偿还的。虽然耕牛脖子上的軛很重，但是它还是需要用它来耕地；虽然舅舅给予他的恩情很大，但是他一定会报答舅舅。这些比喻同时体现了普米的农耕（耕牛和軛）、马帮（马和鞍）、游牧（牦牛和套牛绳）和狩猎（鹿和箭）文化。

麦架子（插图由格荣品措绘制）



献语者的结论是，舅舅的恩情很大，他无法报答，只能用比喻"我的腿太长，裤脚太短；我的手臂太长，衣袖太短"的比喻手法来说明自己的无能，没法达到自己的愿望。献语时，献语者往往会用这种自贬的方式来营造强调的效果。

虽然献语时献语者会说他无法报答舅舅的恩情，但是亲戚家还是会带来很多物资给予帮助，如酒、茶、盐巴、黄酒、猪膘、粮食、面、钱等。普米的黄酒是用大麦、青稞、包谷、苦荞和稗子等粮食酿制的，酒色淡黄，酒精度数比啤酒微高。在葬礼中的黄酒必须是自己酿制的，在市场上没法买来，至于白酒和啤酒则可以在市场买到。猪膘肉也叫琵琶肉，是普米人冬季杀年猪时制作的，也是一种腌肉。制作猪膘肉时会把杀死的猪的毛用开水烫掉，然后剖开猪的腹部，取出所有内脏和骨头，然后撒进盐巴和花椒，再用针缝合刀口，平放即可。这样的肉可以放上几十年。在过去，面和粮食都是用量筒来计量的，一量筒大约有两市斤左右。亲戚家献语时都用了最小的计量（一二）来描述自己带来的东西，也是自贬的手法。

献语也用三个比喻来说明自己带来的东西起不到很大作用，这也是一种自贬的手法。用"雪地里走过的兔子脚印，木杆上松鼠走过的

路，烧香是时撒的净水"来说明自己能做的微不足道。净水是普米人家每天在家里和山上煨桑(烧香）时洒的水。

"希望这朵小花能在众神面前得到开放的福分"是一句祈祷的话语，意思是说：求众神悦纳所献上的礼物。虽然在葬礼中亲戚相互帮忙是常事，但是，最后又归结到了众神的面前，这也体现了接受礼物的不只是主人家，还有众神。

3. 温泉普米葬礼中的 ʈi^{22}dzɔŋ^{55}

ʈi^{22}dzɔŋ^{55} 在普米语里是"排着坐"的意思，是温泉普米在葬礼快要结束时，为答谢客人而举行的一种最高礼节。当人们把逝者抬到火葬场火化之后，所有来参加葬礼的亲戚和喇嘛们都会回到主人家里吃早饭。之后，主人家就会用 ʈi^{22}dzɔŋ^{55}这种独特的方式来答谢亲戚朋友们。喇嘛不会参加这种仪式，他们吃了早饭以后主人家就会安排人用车或骡子送他们回家。

ʈi^{22}dzɔŋ^{55}一般在院坝里举行。此时，亲戚和客人们会面对面坐成两排，中间留有两个人可以并列来回走动的距离，成为献酒的人的通道。主席的桌子在通道的一端，一般在经堂的屋檐下，主席位是家族中的长者和付出最多礼金和物资的亲戚坐的。

大家坐好之后，主人或主人所请的村中一位比较能言的人会代表主人家来向亲戚朋友讲说一篇谢辞。这谢辞的体裁非常优美，像诗歌一样；它的内容往往以主人家极度的自谦自贬为主，来说明他自己的无能，（参下文记述）。

主人或能言的人用精彩的言语答谢完了之后，会有两位小伙子用牦牛角给长者和客人一一献酒。这两位小伙子献酒时，必须弯着腰，低着头，把牦牛角的酒杯高举过头，来表示对客人和长者的尊敬。客人中谁不喝这酒或喝酒时滴在地上的，村里的小伙姑娘们就会用松叶刺他的脸和脖子，以作为惩罚。献酒的时候，会献两杯酒，一杯白酒和一杯甜酒。客人们喝了这两杯酒之后，就会向主人家告别，回到自己的村子去。

此献语是 2012 年 7 月 18 日念巴品措在瓦都葬礼中讲述，由格荣品措录音和整理。荷兰学者 Henrie□tte Daudey 女士翻译成英语。

ɐ^{55}	tə^{55}	ɐ^{22}kɑu^{55}	gə^{22}	bu^{22}
我	这	舅舅	（定冠）	（的话）

ʑi^{55} ɻæ^{22} tɐ^{55} n̥ɔŋ^{22} bu^{22} ʈʂæ^{55} nɨ^{22}ni^{22},
有 （复数）的 一 天 （的话） 土 像这样

nɐ^{22}-sɨ^{22} ɻæ^{55} tɐ^{55} n̥ɔŋ^{22} bu^{22}
（往下）死 （复数）的 一 天 （的话）

mə^{55} q^{h}u^{22} tə^{55}-ʂ̥ɛi^{22}.
天 上 （往上）去（已行）（他称）

1. 我的这位舅舅，在世的一天，他像土一样；去世了的一天，他去了天上。

mə^{55} q^{h}u^{22} tə^{22}-ʂ̥ɛi^{22} lɑ^{22}
天 上 （往上）去（已行）（他称） 也

ɕi^{55}mə^{22} pɛi^{22}k^{w}əŋ^{52}, q^{h}ɔŋ^{55}mə^{55} tɕ^{h}ɑu^{55}tɕæ^{22} ɻæ^{22}
村里人 兄弟 亲戚 亲戚 （复数）的

k^{w}ɐ^{55}ʈi^{22} dzɨ^{22};
功劳 是

niŋ^{22} ɻ̥ɔŋ^{55}ni^{55} ɖæ^{22}miŋ^{55} gɔŋ^{55}bɑ^{22} ʈɐ^{22}ts^{h}ɔŋ^{55}
你 （复数）（施助） 扎美 寺庙 一个寺院的僧人

n̥^{j}ə^{22} ɻɛi^{55} gə^{22} ɐ^{22}-dzɑu^{22} k^{w}ɛi^{52}.
七 百 （定冠） （往中心）聚 让（已行）（他称）

2. 他去了天上也是村里人弟兄和亲戚们的辛劳，是你们让扎美寺一个寺院的七百位喇嘛相聚。

tə^{22}ɕæ^{55} ɐ^{55} bu^{55}
现在 我 （的话）

ʑɐ^{22}gɔŋ^{55} gə^{55} bu^{22} tʰɐ^{22}-ɻæŋ^{52},
（手臂） （定冠） （的话） （离说话人）长

pɑ^{22}ji^{22} gə^{55} bu^{55} tʰɐ^{22}-tsʰɔŋ^{52},
袖子 （定冠） （的话） （离说话人）短

qʰə^{22}-tɕʰu^{55} bu^{55} mə^{55} mæŋ^{22} ɻɨ^{22} mɑ^{22} ɕi^{35};
（离中心）拃 （的话） 人 赶上 能 不 能

ʈʰɨ^{55}gɔŋ^{22} gə^{22} bu^{22} tʰɐ^{22}-ɻæŋ^{52},
下腿 （定冠） （的话） （离说话人）长

ʑɨ^{22}ʈʰɨ^{22} gə^{55} bu^{55} tʰɐ^{22}-tsʰɔŋ^{52},
裤脚 （定冠） （的话） （离说话人）短

qʰə^{22}-ɖʷɑ^{22} bu^{55} mə^{55} mæŋ^{22} ɻɨ^{22} mɑ^{22} ɕi^{35}.
（离中心）步 （的话） 人 赶上 能 不 能

3. 我这人的话，手臂太长，衣袖太短；我用虎口量的时候，赶不上别人；我的小腿太长，裤脚太短；跨步时，赶不上别人。

ɕi^{55}mə^{22} pɛi^{22}kʷəŋ^{52}, qʰɔŋ^{55}mə^{55} tɕʰɑu^{55}tɕæ^{22},
村里人 兄弟 亲戚 亲戚

niŋ^{22} ɻɔŋ^{55} ɖæ^{22}miŋ^{55} gɔŋ^{55}bɑ^{22} ʈɐ^{22}tsʰɔŋ^{55}
你 （复数）（施助） 扎美 寺庙 一个寺院的僧人

n̥ʲə^{22} ɻɛi^{55} gə^{22}
七 百 （定冠）

ɐ^{22}-dzɑu^{22} kʷɛi^{55} kʰi^{55} bu^{22},
（离中心）聚 让（已行）（他称） （之时） （的话）

ɐ^{55} ɐ^{22}kɑu^{55} gə^{22} bu^{22} ni^{55}wɑ^{55}ni^{22}sɔŋ^{55} wu^{22}
我 舅舅 （定冠） （的话） 地狱 里

ti^{22}-dʑi^{35} tʰɑ^{35} mɑ^{22} tʰɔŋ^{22} mə^{55} lɑ^{22}
（往上）位置 跨越 不 能 （名化） 也

ti^{22}-dʑi^{35} tə^{55}-tʰɑ^{55} kʷɛi^{22}.
往上-位置 （往上）跨越 让（已行）（他称）

4. 村人兄弟和亲戚们，是你们让扎美寺一个寺院的七百位喇嘛相聚，让我这位不能跨越地狱的舅舅跨越了地狱。

ʑɐ^{55}gi^{22}ʑɐ^{55}ɻi^{55} dzɨ^{55} lɑ^{22} bu^{22}
以后 是 也 （的话）

ɐ^{55} gæ^{55} tsʉ^{55} nɔŋ^{22} m̥ə^{55} ɻɨ^{22} bi^{22}
我 的 儿子 和 女儿 （复数） （与助）

niŋ^{22} ɻæ^{55} qʉ^{22}ɖi^{55} nɐ^{22}-sɑu^{55}ɖʲɑu^{22} kɛi^{22} ʂu^{22}
你 （复数）的 恩情 （往下）想 让 会

tsʉ^{55} nɔŋ^{22} m̥ə^{55} ɻɔŋ^{22}
儿子 和 女儿 （复数）（施助）

tsʰʷi^{35} mɑ^{22} tʰɔŋ^{22} lɑ^{52},
偿还 不 能 也

ji^{55}tsɨ^{22} ji^{55}lu^{55} ɻɨ^{22} bi^{22}
孙子 孙女 （复数） （与助）

niŋ^{22} ɻæ^{55} qʉ^{22}ɖi^{55} nɐ^{22}-sɑu^{55}ɖʲɑu^{22} kɛi^{22} ʂu^{22}.
你 （复数）（施助） 恩情 （往下）想 让 会

5. 在以后的生活中，我会让我的儿女们思想你们的恩情；要是我的儿女们不能还你们的恩情的话，我会让我的孙子和孙女们思想你们的恩情。

tə^{22}ɕæ^{55} ɐ^{55} m̥ə^{55} ɖɨ^{22}ɖɐ^{55} gə^{22} bu^{22}
现在 我 人 坏 （定冠） （的话）

dɐ^{22}ɻɛi^{22} gə^{55} tɔŋ^{55} mɑ^{22} ʂu^{55} ɕi^{52},
话 （定冠） 讲 不 会 想

tɔŋ^{55} k^{hw}æ^{55} ɐ^{55} qæŋ^{55} wu^{22} k^{h}ə^{22}-tɕ^{h}ɔŋ^{52};
讲 缺口 我 脖子 里 （离中心）来（已行）（他称）

lʲæ^{22}kæ^{55} gə^{55} pʉ^{55} mɑ^{22} ʂu^{55} ɕi^{52},
事情 （定冠） 做 不 会 想

lʲæ^{22}kæ^{55} gə^{55} ɐ^{55} qæŋ^{55} wu^{22}
事情 （定冠） 我 脖子 里

k^{h}ə^{22}-tɕ^{h}ɔŋ^{52}.
（离中心）来（已行）（他称）

6. 我这没本事的人，不想说话，但是，说话的责任已经压在我的脖子上了；不想办这葬礼，但是，事情已经轮到自己的脖子上了。

m̥ə^{55} ɖɨ^{22}ɖɐ^{55} gə^{22} bu^{22}
人 坏 （定冠） （的话）

dɐ^{22}ɻɛi^{35} sɔŋ^{22} gu^{55} ɻɨ^{22} bu^{22} q^{h}ʉ^{35} tu^{22} tɔŋ^{22}
话 三 句 （复数） （的话） 头 上 讲

sɔŋ^{22} gu^{55} ɻɨ^{22} bu^{22} mæŋ^{55} tu^{22} tɔŋ^{22} wəŋ^{22}
三 句 （复数） （的话） 头 上 讲 能

ʈʂ^{h}ɨ^{35} ɖɨ^{22}ɖɐ^{55} gə^{22} bu^{22}
狗 坏 （定冠） （的话）

ɕi^{55}ɻæŋ^{22} sɔŋ^{22} gu^{52}, ɕi^{55}mæŋ^{22} sɔŋ^{22} gu^{55} tu^{22} wəŋ^{22}.
村头 三 句 村尾 三 句 叫 能

7. 没本事的人，讲话会头三句、尾三句地讲；没本事的狗，会在村头叫三声，村尾叫三声。

ɕi^{55}mə^{22} pɛi^{22}k^{w}əŋ^{52}, q^{h}ɔŋ^{55}mə^{55} tɕ^{h}ɑu^{55}tɕæ^{22},
村里人 兄弟 亲戚 亲戚

niŋ^{22} ɻɔŋ^{55}ni^{55}
你 （复数）（施助）

ɐ^{55} gæ^{55} dɐ^{22}ɻɛi^{35} ɖɨ^{22}ɖɐ^{55} gə^{22} bu^{22}
我 的 话 坏 （定冠） （的话）

kɐ^{55}tɑ^{22} gæ^{22} nu^{55} nɐ^{22}-p^{h}ɐ^{22} q^{hw}æŋ^{52};
门临 的 外面 （往下）弄丢 请（复数）

dɐ^{22}ɻɛi^{35} tɕ^{hw}i^{55} gu^{55} gə^{22} bu^{22}
话 好 句 （定冠） （的话）

m̥ə^{55}diŋ^{55} t^{h}ɐ^{22}-zɑ^{55} q^{hw}æŋ^{22}.
地方 （离说话人）带 请（复数）

8. 村人弟兄和亲戚们，我说得不对的话语，请你们扔在门口的外面；我说得对的话语，请你们带到其它地方去。

pʉ^{22}səŋ^{55} k^{h}æ^{22} tə^{55} ɻɐ^{22}dʑɨ^{22}q^{hw}ɑ^{55} gə^{22},
今天早晨 （之时）的 这 白酒碗 （定冠）

næŋ^{22}næŋ^{55}q^{hw}ɑ^{55} gə^{22} bu^{22}
甜酒碗 （定冠） （的话）

ʈ̪su^{55} lɑ^{55} k^{h}ə^{22}-t^{h}iŋ^{55} q^{hw}æŋ^{22},
酸 也 （离中心）喝 请（复数）

$q^hæ^{22}$ $lɑ^{55}$ $k^hə^{22}$-$t^hiŋ^{55}$ $q^{hw}æŋ^{22}$.
苦 也 （离中心）喝 请（复数）

9. 今天早上的这碗白酒和这碗甜酒，不管是酸是甜都请你们喝。

$tə^{22}ɕæ^{55}$ $ɐ^{55}$ $tɕ^hɨ^{22}nɨ^{55}$ $pʉ^{55}$ $t^hiŋ^{22}$ $ɖɑu^{22}$ $gə^{55}$
现在 我 怎么 做 喝 （新知） （定冠）

$nɨ^{55}$ $pʉ^{55}$ $k^hə^{22}$-$t^hiŋ^{55}$ $q^{hw}æŋ^{22}$.
这样 做 （离中心）喝 请（复数）

10. 现在我怎么样喝，请你们也这样喝下去。

$t^hə^{22}ʐæ^{52}$!
谢谢

11. 谢谢！

献语的开始以"我的舅舅在世的一天像土一样"来说明舅舅在世的时候不算什么，也是贬低舅舅身份的话。"去世的一天他去了天上"说明舅舅的葬礼很隆重。但是，隆重的葬礼也离开不了乡亲们和亲戚们从人力和物资方面的帮助。在文章的第二部分里说到物资，有了物资就可以举行很隆重的葬礼和请更多的喇嘛为死者诵经超度。在献语里说到"是你们让扎美寺七百位的喇嘛相聚的，"不是真的邀请到了七百位喇嘛，只是用了夸张的说法而已。扎美寺位于永宁坝子的西北方向，一盘山脚下，是一座藏传佛教格鲁派的寺院。（这里说到的七百喇嘛，也许是这座寺院在鼎盛时期住有七百位喇嘛之意，也可能是藏传佛教对寺院僧人人数的要求，这需要进一步证实。）

献语也用了文章第二部分的自贬方法来表达主人家对亲戚的歉意。主人家用"我的手臂太长，衣袖太短；腿太长，裤脚太短。"来说明是亲戚们的帮助才有能力请喇嘛为死者超度，让死者跨越了地狱。在文章的第二部分的献语里说了死者有"恩情"于亲戚，在此献语里主人家

就说亲戚有恩情于自己，还说这恩情要是自己还不了的话，会让他的后代来偿还。

献语继续用比喻的手法来自贬"没本事的狗会在村头叫三声，村尾叫三声。"还叫亲戚把主人家不好的话语留下，好的话语带走。

献语完毕时，主人家会请两位小伙子用牦牛角为亲戚和朋友献上一杯白酒和一杯甜酒。甜酒是用小麦、玉米面或者米酿制而成的，有酒度，形状像粥一样 。主人在这里会说"不管这杯酒和这杯甜酒是苦味是酸味都请大家喝下。"酸味跟苦味只有在黄酒和甜酒酿制不好的时侯才会产生 ，主人家的意思是说他酿制的酒不一定好喝。仪式完毕之后，客人们会离去。

4. 结论

在温泉普米的葬礼中，除了宗教仪式之外，还有很多其它的仪式，但是，$x^{w}ɑ^{55}ʑ^{w}æ^{52}$和 $ʈi^{22}dzɔŋ^{55}$两个仪式也是比较重要的。这两个仪式有点像葬礼的开始和结尾，$x^{w}ɑ^{55}ʑ^{w}æ^{51}$是亲戚带物资来参加葬礼献诵的，而 $ʈi^{22}dzɔŋ^{55}$则是主人家在亲戚告别前用牦牛角献酒答谢时举行的。

"恩情"这词体现了普米文化中人与人之间的关系，在 $x^{w}ɑ^{55}ʑ^{w}æ^{52}$的献语里，亲戚说他们欠了死者的"恩情"，在 $ʈi^{22}dzɔŋ^{55}$的献语里，主人家又说他们会记得亲戚家的"恩情"。"恩情"可以把亲戚间们连接起来，也体现了如麦架子般基于彼此间的需要而相互支撑的本质。从上面讨论的两个仪式来看，在温泉普米地区施受的平衡度很重要，也渗透到了普米日常生活当中。比如亲戚间来往时，也会相互送礼。当一个人带着礼物去探访亲戚，他离开的时候，亲戚家也会给他送礼物。这样会加深亲戚之间的关系。

以上两种仪式展示了普米诗词里所采用的比喻和排比两种手法。希望这样美丽的诗词能够一直流传于普米民间，也希望对普米文化感兴趣的朋友们能够通过此文章来了解和认识一点普米的葬礼文化。